1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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He didn't act as though he was surprised to see me. He stopped singing and asked me to sit down. He just talked in a social way. I don't think he suspected the reason for my visit. I asked him for a smoke. At first he hesitated. He asked me if I was allowed to smoke. I told him that my aunt let me smoke. Then he gave it to me. It is unusual for an older man to give a boy a smoke. A boy wouldn't ever ask an old Indian for a smoke; he wouldn't dare. I stayed with him for about an hour. When I left I still thought he was a witch, though I had no reason for it. I just thought he hadn't revealed himself.

The first few times I went to visit him I took pains not to be seen by others. At first I thought it was something daring to do, but after a while it wore off. Even when I was visiting him openly by myself, I used to avoid him when I was with the other boys.

I took precautions while I was going to him though. I was afraid of being witched. I didn't accept anything from him. Once I refused something, though I needed it badly. I wouldn't eat there either. If he offered me food, I always explained that I had just eaten and wasn't hungry. I did take smokes though. I wanted them pretty badly, I guess, because he could have done more harm through tobacco than through food, since tobacco is used in ceremonies. I never found out why he was suspected or met anybody he was supposed to have harmed.

PLAY

It would be a mistake to suppose that childhood is little more than an unhappy introduction to notions of death and witchcraft. Fears exist, but the normal youngster devotes far less attention to these alarming subjects than he does to his playmates and games.

The children are amazingly resourceful in exploiting the possibilities of their natural surroundings in play. Little girls, and sometimes little boys, make beads from wild-rose hips, ground cherries, and the scouring rush plant. Pine needles serve for earrings and bracelets. The girls fashion dolls from panic grass and string together ground cherries to form little figures. They then make, on a tiny scale, substitutes for all the possessions they observe in their own households. Small toy homes are constructed from a number of plants. Ferns yield pillows, blankets, and beds for the dolls. From the Jacob's-ladder are shaped little dresses for the doll, and these dresses are decorated with "jingles" of sideoats grama grass. Even a miniature of the food staple, mescal, has been found, and so the dolls go forth industriously to gather "doll's mescal" (*Androsace pinetorum*). Food is generously pro-

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524
[824] vided at these toy encampments, wild peas often serving as the main dish.

[534] Not all the toys that the children make meet with parental
[821] approval: "We used to take a flat stick, make a hole through it, put a string through this hole, and run with it. It makes a noise. Our parents did not want us to do this. They would always scold us when we did it. They said it brought the wind." Besides this
[534] rhombus or bull-roarer, the children make another object somewhat similar in effect: "There is another noisemaker. We use a piece of hide, cut two holes in it, and put a string through. Then we wind up the string and pull it. It makes a noise. A good
[821] many of the old people don't like it. They say it will bring wind too."

The boy whips pellets of mud, lightly stuck at the end of a willow branch, at birds and achieves considerable accuracy with
[411] this weapon. He soon learns to make good use of the sling, a diamond-shaped piece of hide to which one looped and one unlooped side thong are attached. The hide is folded over upon itself, incasing a stone which is projected when the sling is swung
[824] forward. A piece of elderberry, ash, reed, or walnut from which the pith has been removed, or through which a hole has been worked, is made into a popgun by tamping one end and forcing another piece through until the tamp flies out with a loud report.

857 Many a child has learned to braid with wild iris, candy grass,
824 or clover. Little girls pass the time pleasantly making a long string of the leaves of *Dalea dalea* and then arranging it in several strands with leaves interlocking. From the virgin's bower plant and a species of aster the children obtain toy hats, and *Vicia* is employed as a dancing robe. The four-leafed clover is considered lucky, and the children have contests to see who can find one first. They blow into the choisey flower to make a sound that is likened to the call of the fawn. The name of the plant is, accordingly, "that which cries like a deer's child." Beard-tongue buds are picked and popped. "Bird tracks" are made in the sand with Bermuda grass, and a leaf transfixed to Bermuda grass "feet" is called a bird.

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CHILDHOOD

47 857

There are practical jokers, even among the children, who 824
throw clinging or mildly irritating grasses (*Nama hispida* is one) 522
at someone or hide them in his bed.

The children of an encampment organize expeditions to search 857
for certain delicacies which are not plentiful or valuable enough 222
to figure in adult food economy. Ground cherries, the red fruits [26]
of the nipple cacti, and willow buds are gathered, and cotton-
wood buds are chewed like gum. The search for honey provides
another diversion:

> When I was a boy, so long ago I can hardly remember it now, there was a certain bee we used to get. When it collected honey the children caught it, split it open, and sucked out the sweet stuff from the body. They didn't eat the whole thing. Only children did this. I never saw grown-ups do it.

When hives are found in the trees, a smudge fire is started under the tree and the bees are smoked out. A cliff hive is dislodged by well-directed shots from slings. For a ground hive another method is employed: "When the hive is in the ground a boy stands over the small hole and lets the bees out one at a time. Others kill each bee as it comes out. When all the bees are killed, they dig out the hole and eat the honey."

To the stock of playthings which the child makes for himself 524
are added toys given him by his parents or other relatives. Little
girls are presented with buckskin dolls filled with grass,[9] toy cra-
dles, water jars, and burden baskets. For the boy the obvious [824]
plaything is a small bow and some arrows made of ocean spray,
mock orange, snowberry, willow, service berry, or *Edwinia amer-* [237]
icana. As a blanket for her doll cradle the girl uses a cottontail
rabbit skin. A rabbit-skin cap, with the ears left on, is made for
the little boy.

The older boys and girls enjoy swimming, a sport which a 857
child begins to master at about the age of eight. A practical pur- [481]
pose is credited to another activity:

[9] These dolls are not supposed to approximate the human form too closely, for anything that has great likeness to a human being but is not animate is suggestive of a corpse. The mothers would not, at first, allow their children to have dolls of European type, claiming that they were "too natural." [532] [177] [764]

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526 prize. Someone is blindfolded, and an arrow is stuck in the ground far from him. If he finds the arrow, he is allowed to retain it. "They sometimes stick several arrows in the ground. If he finds one, all the rest belong to him."

• 524 Children play a game that may be likened to "heads and tails," using a bone with sides distinguished from each other by shape or color. Sometimes the bone is spit upon and the sides are called "wet" and "dry." If the side he has named shows uppermost, the player in possession of the bone wins the throw and retains the bone. Otherwise the bone changes hands. Today the [178 game is played with a metal knife that has a handle rough on one +12] side and smooth on the other.

526 In an exciting ball game a member of one side throws a buckskin ball to a member of the opposition who is standing with his team mates in a large circle or safety zone. This individual hits the ball with his hand, and he or one of his team mates must then run to another safety zone some distance away. The side of the thrower tries to retrieve the ball and hit the runner with it before he reaches the other circle. Should the runner be struck, his opponents make a rush for the safety zones, while he and his helpers try to recover the ball and strike one of the other team with it before he gains the circle. After the exchange, when the "ins" and "outs" are decided, the round of pitching and batting starts again.

524 The boys sometimes make clay marbles and dry them in the sun or near the fire, but often round stones are used instead. In one marble game a row of holes is scooped out. The order of play is determined by seeing who can roll a marble closest to a line. The object of the game is to roll the marble into each of the holes. A successful play for the first hole entitles the player to try for the second. When the row of holes has been traversed, the player must play in the opposite direction and come back to the starting-point. The first one to accomplish this is the winner. Instead of throwing directly toward a hole, a player is entitled to try to knock a competitor out of the way. If he strikes the marble at which he aims, he is allowed another throw for the hole.

Another marble game calls for four players, sitting around a

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hollow square, one on each side of it. Two teams are involved. 524 •
Partners sit across from each other. A member of one side places a marble in the center. A player of the opposition tries to knock this away with one of his own. Should he succeed, his partner retrieves both marbles, and his opponent must place another at the center as a target. As long as this central marble is knocked away, it must be replaced by the side furnishing it. When a player misses, he substitutes a marble of his own, and the game continues.

Hide-and-seek, tag, foot races, tug-of-war, and wrestling con- 526
tests are all popular. To begin a wrestling match, the rivals clasp each other around the waist. At a signal each tries to down his opponent. Almost anything is permissible, tripping included. If one wrestler is off his feet, no matter which part of his body touches the ground, and the other is still standing, the match is over.

Little girls are skilful at a game comparable to jackstones. 524
"Four or five girls from about seven to fourteen years of age usually play together." One way of playing is called "those which pass each other again and again." Four stones are juggled while the girls walk along until a certain mark is reached. In another type of "rock game" an attempt is made to pick up four stones successively with one hand and put them on the back of the other while a fifth stone is repeatedly thrown in the air. The stones are arranged in a row on the knuckles, starting from the right and going to the left until each of the four knuckles is covered. "Throwing between fingers" describes a variant in which the stones are put, one by one, between the fingers, while the fifth stone is tossed up. Next the palm is turned up, and the stones are removed one by one. Another way is to cup the palm and put the stones in it, one at a time. Although these games with the stones are typically girls' pastimes, little boys occasionally play them too.

Boys whip a pointed wooden top with a sinew string. The making of cat's cradles or string figures furnishes year-round recreation for young and old of both sexes. There are many forms of these figures. One, after great elaboration, comes to a

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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524 surprise ending by collapsing completely. Another represents the bow, and still another a house.

857 526 The children seldom attempt such adult pastimes as shinny, the stave games, and the moccasin game. They watch their elders play them, however, and become conversant with the principles involved.

THE CHILD AND HIS KIN

602 The social world to which the child is first introduced consists of a well-organized group of kin. The significant events of his life will be planned and made possible by his blood relatives. [627] Should a person be wronged, his relatives act for him and with him; should he be accused, they shield him from vengeance. If a man dies with grievances unavenged, his relatives perpetuate his [764] quarrel in a feud between families. It is they who have the responsibility of his death rites and who mourn for him.

[611] Kinship is counted bilaterally, through the mother and through the father equally.[10] It is impossible to get any convincing assurance that one kind of relative is necessarily "closer" than another. The expressions on this point seem to be reflections of personal feelings rather than instances of the operation of any rule.

All blood relatives are supposed to be generous and loyal, and, in times of crisis, the appeal of a blood relative of any degree is difficult to ignore. Nevertheless, differences of age, sex, residence, and remoteness of connection become inevitably registered in patterns of behavior.

593 *The parent-child relationship.*—The parents take primary responsibility for the support, proper rearing, and ceremonial protection of their children. The influence of the child-parent bond is present in many forms of behavior. A man often begs for supernatural power, for "something to live by," because of the [782] need of his children. One who makes a request for help, material or spiritual, greatly strengthens his plea if he supplicates in the

[10] For the kinship terms and a diagram of the kinship system see the Appendix.

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All other illustrations secured lack this feature, however. A small pipe cut with a knife from soft limestone was described by another informant. Since this pipe resembles the modern American pipe and must be made with a metal knife, it is probably a more recent type. As a less durable approximation to the tubular clay pipe, blades of the broad-leafed yucca are rolled into the same shape and are used as long as they last. One informant said that he has also seen a length of reed filled with tobacco and smoked.

SPORTS AND GAMES OF ADULTS

Games and sports comprise much of adult recreation. The various arrow games already described in the section on children's pastimes—shooting for distance or for accuracy, sliding arrows, and the play which has been likened to blind man's buff—are popular with grownups as well. Men also play the bone or "heads and tails" game and the marble games.[4]

Competitions in tug-of-war and wrestling are frequently arranged. A variant of the usual tug-of-war is to fasten a rawhide rope around the waist of a very strong man. Three others hold the free end of the rope, along which knots have been tied to afford them a grip. The man to whom the rope is fastened is further handicapped by having a fourth member of the opposition attempt to hold him down. If he manages to arise, nevertheless, and to drag forward the three who are bracing themselves at the other end of the rope, he is the winner.

Keen interest is manifested in wrestling:

> We wrestle a great deal. Some men are expert and are just like professionals. They even wrestle with men from other tribes who come here. Big sums are bet. The wrestlers start by holding each other around the middle. After they begin, tripping, twisting the arm, or anything is allowed. When one man is under the other, it ends. It doesn't matter which part of his body touches, as long as one man is off his feet and the other man is on top. Sometimes it lasts for hours.

Most contests of chance and skill involve gambling, and it behooves anyone who wagers seriously to have his luck ceremonially safeguarded:

[4] See pp. 50–53.

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[facing p. 448]

PLATE XVI

526
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Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

a. Men Playing Hoop-and-Pole Game

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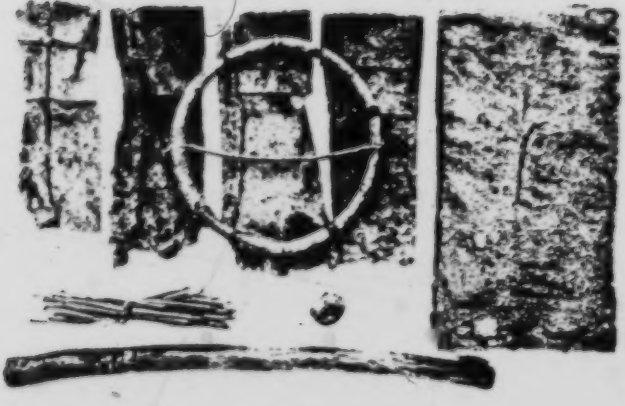
524



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

b. Hoop of Hoop-and-Pole Game; "Moccasins," Blanket, Bone, Striking Stick, and Counters of Moccasin Game

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painted sides of the other staves fall uppermost. If the long stave 526
crosses the center of the rock, it counts one hundred; if it stays on the rock but is at either side of the center, it is worth but fifty. Of the other staves, the yellow one counts twelve points if the painted side shows, six if the unpainted surface is up. The others earn an agreed amount if the painted surfaces face upward, but score nothing if the plain surfaces show. This game can be played by men or women but, like the others, is most often played by the women.

More tradition, song, and ceremony center around the moc- 524 •
casin game than about any other form of adult recreation. It is [973]
the only game with which a major myth is connected; it was the game played in the beginning of the world at the Mogollon Mountains when the birds were pitted against the four-footed animals and monsters to determine whether there should be daylight. The manner in which the game is conducted now is intended to be a faithful duplication of that first contest.

The moccasin game is played only in the winter and only at night, until daybreak. If they play beyond daybreak, they have to paint their faces black. The story of the first moccasin game is told just at night and in winter. They say, "If you tell this story in summer, you will see bad animals like the rattlesnake." You have to be careful about the songs of the game too. You can't sing them in the summertime, for a snake will bite you if you do. In the wintertime you can sing them in the day or at night. In the winter there are no snakes around; that's why.

[821] [302] [825] 524 533 [825]

Even snow has a song in the moccasin game. The people don't like to hear the snow song before the real cold weather. It brings snow, they think. They got after me because I sang it the other day.

[821]

Men and women join to make an exciting occasion of the 524
game. Arrangements for playing it are informal. "If I wanted to have that game tonight, I'd say to someone, 'Let's play the moccasin game tonight.' I'd get my friends, and he'd get his. Each man wants to have good singers."

To play the game the members of the two teams gather and face each other on opposite sides of a fire that has been kindled at a level place. Each of the groups arranges a row of four "moccasins" in which the bone is to be hidden. "We usually do not use real moccasins for this game but just make four holes. After

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[524] the bone is hidden in one of these, they are all filled at the top with grass." Often cylindrical sacks made of hide (later of cloth) serve as moccasins.

[237] The rounded section of bone from the hip or knee of an animal is hidden. It is often blackened by being thrown into the fire before the start of the game. The other things required are a robe or blanket to be held up by those hiding the bone, a stick with which the person delegated to find the bone strikes the moccasin in which he thinks it has been placed, and counters which each side [532] is trying to obtain. The stick is about two feet long and often is incised with carvings representative of birds which took part in the legendary game, such as the road runner and the turkey. [824] The counters are strips of yucca leaf, six to eight inches long. Usually there are sixty-eight of them, worth a point total of one hundred and four. Sixty-four of the counters are plain and count one each; four of them are fringed at the end and are each valued at ten.

To determine which side shall hide the bone first, a bone or a stone which has been moistened on one side is thrown between two of the opposing players, and one calls "Wet" or "Dry." The side which wins this trial now orders the blanket raised, and one of its members hides the bone, while the others sing.

[533] [1913] When they play the game, they sing the songs which the birds and animals who played it first sang about themselves. And the moccasins and the bone, too —each has a song about itself. These are the first ones sung. These songs are sung during the playing. The side hiding the bone sings while the hiding is going on and while the one who guesses for the other side is trying to make up his mind about which moccasin to strike. They sing loudly and try to confuse him in every way, but no drum is used. If a side is lucky with a song and the others are guessing wrong, they keep on singing that same one until the bone is taken away from them.

[535] During the singing, members of the group dance in place.

When the bone is concealed, the hider calls, "Ready," and the robe is removed. A representative of the opposition comes forward to strike with his stick. If he hits the correct moccasin, he wins the bone for his side without any gain in counters for the other side. If, however, he strikes a moccasin to either side of the one in which the bone actually lies, four counters are taken from

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the central bundle and handed to the hider. And, if he strikes a moccasin two or more removes from the right one, the side of the hider gains ten plain or one fringed counter. Those who are hiding the bone keep it until a correct guess takes it away from them. Then the roles are reversed, and the opposition does the singing and hiding until it, too, must give up the bone. 524

As the game progresses, the players present, in character, the songs of the many beings of the mythic account. The song of a small bird is given in falsetto, while that of the slow-witted, lumbering giant is intoned in a gruff voice. These songs are often chosen with reference to situations in the current game that parallel events in the game of tradition. When one side is lagging, a song may be selected which was used to good advantage by the birds of the original game at a moment when defeat for them seemed imminent. This characterization and interweaving of mythological knowledge add interest to the game, and the fever of rejoicing and disappointment is maintained by lively betting, both on the final outcome and upon the individual plays. 524 533 524 525

When all the counters have been distributed to one side or the other, the losing side must pay the winner from its own store. When one side has taken from the other all its counters, it has won the game.

What has been described is the orthodox mode of play. But, as the game is sometimes played, a person who has unsuccessfully struck one of the moccasins, may be offered, or may request, another turn without a rehiding of the bone. If he succeeds this time, he wins the bone for his side and does not have to pay counters for the first wrong guess. Should he fail this second time, he pays heavily. In another variation, one who is guessing may elect to poke the moccasin instead of striking it. By this he signifies that he is trying not to select but to avoid the moccasin in which the bone lies. If he pokes three moccasins without result, he has found the bone by a process of elimination and obtains it for his side. In still another variation, a player may reach into the moccasin with his hand instead of striking or poking it with the stick. The hider may be allowed to conceal the bone on his person instead of in one of the moccasins:

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524 Sometimes the one who is hiding the bone does not put it in a moccasin but under his arm. When he does this, it doesn't count against the other side if they fail to guess where it is. The hider is doing this just so his luck will come back to him. He does it when the other side has been getting the bone too easily. But if someone on the other side thinks you have got it hidden on you, instead of striking, the one who is guessing for the other side says, "You have it." Then you have to hand it over to him if he's right; your side loses the bone.

Another manner of play is to penalize upon discovery the one who conceals the bone in this way. "If a player, instead of hiding the bone in a moccasin, conceals it on his person, he will, if discovered, lose ten points for every move made by the opposing side before the discovery of the trick."

The moccasin game has given rise to several less elaborate forms of play of the same general character and bearing the same name:

When a few get together, we sometimes play with four heaps of sand and a marble. We follow the same way of counting as in the moccasin game, and we call this a moccasin game, too.

Then there is one game where a marble is hidden in one hand or the other, and the other fellow has to guess where it is. We don't keep moving our hands around when we are playing this. We just hide it and let the other side guess.

They also play a game in which a small stick is hidden behind one of the four fingers of the hand. All these are called moccasin games.

INVECTIVE

191 195 578 793 A curse is a grave affront because of the acknowledged potency of verbalism. The general respect for the efficacy of words has its roots in traditions of the early period of mankind's existence:

"At this time, anything that they said occurred in exactly that way. Anything of which one said: 'It is to happen so,' happened in just that way. For that reason one did not say just anything to someone. If one spoke in that way to someone one hated, it happened in exactly that way. . . . . They spoke only in a very good way."[11]

After the flood there were many, many Indians [Chiricahua]. These Indians were very religious. They were careful how they used their language. They wouldn't ever dare to say, "I wish that dog would bite you," or, "I wish that coyote would get you." They wouldn't ever dare say things like that. They were afraid to tell lies.

[11] Hoijer, *Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache Texts*, p. 18.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

MYTHOLOGY

773 The most important Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache myth, and the one which has the greatest implication for Apache ceremonialism, is that which recounts the birth of the culture hero, Child-of-the-Water (whose mother was White-Painted Woman and whose father was Water) and his subsequent destruction of the monsters which were making the earth uninhabitable for humanity. Many elements of Apache ritual life are rationalized in this account. For [824] instance, because Child-of-the-Water used grama grass as his arrow when he slew an evil giant, grama grass is much used in ceremonial contexts, as we have already observed.

A favorite story cycle is one which deals with the travels and adventures of the trickster, Coyote. Coyote is credited with stealing fire for the people, but in most of the episodes he is portrayed as the buffoon, dupe, and violator of Apache mores.

Other myths are concerned with supernaturals, with the origin of games, with the disappearance and restoration of the game animals, with races and contests between different animals, with the mishaps befalling a race of foolish people called "travelers," and with a variety of motifs too numerous to list here.

GAMES AND SOCIAL DANCES

526 [181] [525] The Apache were anything but a somber people. They enjoyed gambling games and social occasions. The men played a hoop and pole game which was connected with ceremony and which the women were not permitted to watch. Stave games were the favorite recreation of the women. Shinny and a game of ball not so very much unlike American baseball are also described. There were a number of arrow-shooting games, one game in which the the aim was to slide an arrow along the ground so that the feather would touch the feather of the opponent's arrow.

• 524 A very important game, and one which could be played only at night, involved the hiding of a bone in one of four half-

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

buried moccasins by one side, and the guessing of the position of the bone by their opponents. This is the game which it is alleged was played in the beginning of the world by the animals and the birds to determine whether there would be darkness all the time, or whether there would be day as well. In another Apache game the contestants throw rocks toward a hole. The one who gets his rock nearest scores most, and the player who obtains a required count first is the winner. Tug of war, wrestling matches, foot and horse races, and even the making of cat's cradle were numbered among the Apache's amusements and contests.

Social dancing was an integral part of the festivities at any large gathering. Beside the round dance there were two favorite types of partner dance, one in which the men and women, facing each other, first approached each other and then retreated. In the other partner dance, the man and woman faced each other and went forward and backward together. All of these dance forms were accompanied by separate sets of songs, the words of which were quite often caustically humorous and fixed with sharp verbal barbs for the young lovers who were dancing.

DEATH

Like all other Southern Athabaskans, the Chiricahua and Mescalero showed the most acute dread of anything connected with death. The corpse was buried as quickly as possible and the place of burial never revisited. The possessions of the deceased were destroyed, and the family at once abandoned the camp at which death had occurred. The name of the dead person could not be mentioned thereafter. Those who prepared the body for burial burned or discarded the clothes worn on the occasion. Close relatives of the deceased cut their hair as a mark of mourning. The ghosts of Apache who were sorcerers in life turned to owls, and the Chiricahua and Mescalero disliked nothing so much as to hear an owl hoot close by.[5]

5. For details of this concept and its implications, see Opler (39).